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Hungarian and Slavic

(6,687 words)

The first superficial contacts of the Hungarians and Slavs took place in the 9th century CE in the East European Plain at the time of the migration of Hungarian tribes. However, intensive contacts began after they relocated to the Carpathian basin, where the ancestors of today's Hungarians settled among Slavs who spoke Late Common Slavic dialects. In the course of their assimilation among the Slavophone population of the central territories in a community characterized by Slavic-Hungarian bilingualism, Hungarian acquired a considerable number of loans, lexical and semantic calques, and some word-formational calques. Slavic affected the grammatical structure of Hungarian to a lesser extent. The Slavic substratum of Hungarian warrants the reconstruction of two dialects of Late Common Slavic in the Carpathian basin at the time of the arrival of the Hungarians in the late 9th century CE. One is Pannonian Slavic, which combined features of what are today's West Slavic languages and the westernmost dialects of the South Slavic dialects, which thus form a transitional dialect bridging the West and South Slavic branches. The other is a dialect of the Bulgarian type, which, together with its general South Slavic features, also gives evidence of specific features of Bulgarian dialects. The substratum lexicon was supplemented by borrowings from individual Slavic languages as a result of persistent and intensive contact between Slavs and Hungarians, which had earlier taken place in the central parts of the Hungarophone territory as well as its periphery, whereas in the modern era, they take place largely only between regional variants of Hungarian in neighboring Slavic countries. The influence of Hungarian on Slavic has been more modest, being evident primarily in Slavic speech varieties that had developed over the centuries in the Hungarian Kingdom (Prekmurje Slovene, Burgenland Croatian, Slovak, and Carpathian Ukrainian/Rusyn): in these languages and dialects, borrowings from Hungarian are widely represented in various spheres of the lexicon in everyday use.

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The ancestors of the Hungarians came into contact with the ancestors of the Slavs at the time of the former's presence in the East European Plain. The ethnonym of the Hungarians in Slavic **ǫgъr-* (whence ORu *ugre*, *ugorъskъ*, Uk *uhorecъ*, *uhorsъkyj*, Po *Węgrzy*, *węgierski* 'Hungarians, Hungarian') was borrowed by the ancestors of the East Slavic languages from Turkic **onogur* prior to the denasalization of nasal vowels in East Slavic before the mid-10th century CE and was borrowed into other European languages, e.g., En *Hungary*, Fr *Hongrie*, Ge *Ungar*, *Ungarn* 'Hungarian(s), Hungary' via MGr *Οὔγγροι*, MLa *(H)ungarus*, *(H)ungaria* (Vasmer 1953–1958, vol. III: 172; Anikin 2009–, vol. VI: 234–235). The archaic Hungarian name for the Slavs, *tót*, in turn was borrowed, evidently, from Baltic, cf. OPo *tauto* 'country', Li *tautà*, Lt *tàuta* 'people, nation' (see Zoltán 2009). While the ancestors of the Hungarians lived in the steppe zone of the East European Plain, the Hungarian language was open to its first Slavic elements from East Slavic dialects. Researchers consider these to include words such as *tanya* 'farmstead' (ORu *tonja*), *naszád* 'a type of vessel' (ORu *nasadъ*), and *halom* 'hill, heap' (ORu *xъlmъ*; Hadrovics 1989: 24; Kniezsa 1955, s.v.). There are reasons to include here the words *lengyel* < *lengyen* 'Pole', *szégye* 'fishing tackle' < ORu *sěža*, and *varsa* 'fish trap' < ORu *verša* < **vъrša* (Kniezsa 1955; Benkő 1993–1997, s.v.). However, because formal criteria for the great majority of early Slavic elements in Hungarian are lacking, it is difficult to determine with any degree of reliability which ones are due to an East Slavic dialect at the time of migration of the Hungarians in the Black Sea steppe region. Consequently, the East Slavic character of these early Slavic borrowings in Hungarian remains unprovable (Kniezsa 1943: 189; cf. Helimski 2000: 414–415; Zoltán 2017). The most reliable borrowing from East Slavic before the migration to the Carpathian basin is the ethnonym *lengyel* (< *lengyen*) 'Pole', which goes back to the Slavic tribal name **lędjan(e)* and is also attested in the writing of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (b. 905 – d. 959; *Λενζανῆνοι*, *Λενζενίνοις*; trans. Jenkins 1967: 9, 37) and located by him in the Subcarpathian region. This tracks well with the path of the Hungarians across the Carpathians on their way to the Carpathian basin. However, we have the examples of the OSr *Lędanin* 'Pole' (Benkő 1993–1997, vol. II: 888), reconstructed on the basis of the Latin translation of a 17th-century copy of a lost Serbian chronicle from the 16th century associated only with the kings of Hungary (Mažuranić 1908–1922: 587), as well as *Lędan* in the name of the legendary city of *Lędan grad* in Serbian and Croatian folklore (collected no earlier than the 19th century), which goes directly back to the same name, as some scholars propose (Rj Daničić 1903, vol. V: 955; and, following it, Trubačev 1974–, vol. XV: 44), and not via Hungarian. Consequently, it is possible that the Hungarians did not become acquainted with the name of this tribe “en route,” while in contact with the ancestors of the Eastern Slavs, but encountered it later, in the Carpathian basin, as the name could only have been familiar to the Slavophone people located there. It is difficult to resolve this ambiguity owing to the dearth of sufficient material in surviving original medieval Serbian and Croatian manuscripts. If the number of borrowings from East Slavic in Hungarian before the arrival of the Hungarians in the Carpathian basin (around 895 CE) is not large and is limited only to, at best, a handful of lexemes, then the vast majority of Slavic borrowings were acquired by Hungarian after their settlement in the territory where they are located today, a territory where the Hungarophone population has been in close contact with Slavophone populations for over a thousand years. In various historical periods, the character and intensity

of these contacts have varied, but ultimately, the single most significant external influence on Hungarian has been Slavic. Slavic borrowings make up 9.36% of nonderived everyday Hungarian vocabulary, as reflected in the last comprehensive multivolume dictionary of Hungarian (*A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára* ‘Dictionary of the Hungarian language’; Bárczi and Országh). For comparison, the nonderived words of Finno-Ugric origin make up 10.1% of the lexicon; Slavic borrowings in Hungarian are twice the number of Turkic (4.59%) or Germanic (5.43%; see Papp 1967: 52). It is no coincidence, therefore, that the classic research on Slavic–Hungarian contact by Oszkár Asbóth (1852–1920), János Melich (1872–1963), István Knieszsa (1898–1965), László Hadrovics (1917–1997), and Lajos Kiss (1922–2003) has given a great deal of attention to Slavic elements in Hungarian, including a dedicated etymological dictionary (Knieszsa 1955). In this major work, some 1,252 words of Slavic origin in Hungarian are treated etymologically: of these, 484 are everyday words in standard Hungarian, 694 are dialect forms, and 74 are considered archaic (Kiss 1994).

Slavic scholars were the first to show interest in Slavic elements in Hungarian. The point of departure in this area of research can be considered the 305 Croatian–Hungarian correspondences compiled by Faust Vrančić (1551–1617) in his “Vocabula Dalmatica quae Vngari sibi vsurparvnt,” which is included in his dictionary of five languages (Verantius 1595: 118–123). In the prescientific period of linguistics, many Hungarian words were attributed to Slavic etyma by the Slovak Štefan Leška (1757–1818; see Leschka 1825) and the Moravian Gregor Dankovszky (1784–1857; see Dankovszky 1833). The first synthetic scholarly work on this topic was written by the Slovene scholar Franc Miklošič (1813–1891; see Miklosich 1871). In the 20th century, a significant contribution to the study of Slavic–Hungarian linguistic contacts, aside from the Hungarian scholars mentioned above, has been made by the Russian scholar Evgenij Arnol'dovič Xelimskij (1950–2007; see Helimski 2000: 404–466; Stachowski 2009).

The oldest layer of Hungarian–Slavic elements belongs unquestionably to the substratum (Balassa 1937: 46; Helimski 2000: 432; Kiefer 2010: 716) and in most instances provides outstanding examples of the language of the Slavs who were co-territorial with the immigrating Hungarians and who subsequently assimilated into the Hungarophone community.

Data about the Slavic substratum in Hungarian are presented essentially only by the ancient Slavic elements in Hungarian (appellatives and toponyms). On this basis, two dialects can be discerned. One of them, described by Xelimskij (Helimski 2000: 416–432), is undoubtedly Pannonian Slavic, a transitional dialect shared by the linguistic ancestors of, on the one hand, today's Slovenes and Croats and, on the other, the Moravians and Slovaks. In this dialect, which was distributed over the territory of the former Roman province of Pannonia (today's western Hungary and its environs), the key features of the West Slavic dialects mixed with features of the South Slavic languages. Among the West Slavic elements are the development of the sequences **ort-*, **olt-* in word-initial position to **rot-*, **lot-*; in these examples, CS *o* develops into Hu short *a* (IPA: [ɒ]): Hu *rab* ‘slave, prisoner’ < PannSl **robъ* < PSl **orbъ*, Hu *ladik* ‘boat’ < PannSl **lod-* < PSl **oldъji*. The West Slavic character of Pannonian Slavic is also seen in the

preservation of Proto-Slavic clusters **dl* (in contrast to South Slavic innovative **dl > l*), which in Hungarian is reflected as *ll*: **vidla > villa* ‘fork, pitchfork’, **motovidlo > motolla* ‘spinning reel’. At the same time, the South Slavic languages, specifically the language of the forerunners of the Croats and Slovenes, are reflected in the continuation of the Proto-Slavic sequences **tj* and **dj*: the reflex **dj* shows up in Hungarian as *gy* ([dʲ], IPA: [j]), cf. BCMS *đ*: Hu *megye* ‘province, megye (an administrative unit)’ < PSi **medja* (cf. BCMS *měda*); Hu *ragya* ‘rupture on one’s skin’ < PSi **rědja* (cf. BCMS *řda*). The reflex of **tj* – *ty* ([tʲ], IPA: [c]) or *cs* ([č], IPA: [tʃ]) shows up differentially, cf. BCMS *ć*, Sn *č*: Hu *parittyá* ‘slingshot’ < PannSl **pratja* < PSi **portja* (cf. BCMS *prāca*, Sn *prāča*); Hu *lencse* ‘lentil’ < PSi *lętja* (cf. BCMS *lěca*, Sn *lěča*). Alongside this dialect (*contra* Xelimskij), there must have been a different dialect in which PSi **dl* had yielded *l*, as in the majority of South Slavic dialects, and this *l* is reflected in Hungarian as a short *l*: Hu *zab(o)la* ‘bit (for a horse)’ < SSi **zobalo* < PSi **zobadlo*. The South Slavic sequence **ort-* in word-initial position is realized as *rat-*, as in South Slavic dialects, and the vowel *a* in these sequences is reflected with the Hungarian long *á* (IPA: [a:]): Hu dial. *rásza* ‘sprout, seedling’ < SSi **rasadŕ* < **raz-sadŕ* < PSi **orz-sadŕ*, cf. Bg *rāzsad* ‘sprout, seedling’, BCMS *rāsa* ‘idem’; Hu arch. *rászt* ‘enlargement of the spleen’ < SSi **rastŕ* < PSi **orstŕ*, cf. BCMS *rāst* ‘growth, height’; (arch.) ‘affliction of the spleen’. The reflexes of the Proto-Slavic clusters **tj*, **dj* in this dialect are reflected as *št*, *žd* as in Old Church Slavic (Old Bulgarian) and in modern Bulgarian: Hu *nyüst* ‘shaft (of a loom)’ < OBg *ništi* (PL) < PSi **nitji*; Hu *mostoha* ‘stepmother’ < OBg *maštexa* < PSi **matjexa*; Hu *mezsgye* ‘boundary’ < OBg *mežda* < PSi **medja*; Hu *rozsa* ‘rust’ < OBg *ržda* < PSi **rědja*. Taken together, all of these features are explicable only on the basis of Bulgarian (Zoltán 2013). The Slavic elements enumerated above and indicating a Bulgarian source in the majority of instances have a common Hungarian distribution, i.e., it is unlikely that they were borrowed on the peripheries of the Hungarian speech territory. Only the dialect form *rásza* ‘sprout’ can shed light on the geographical position of this Slavic dialect of the Bulgarian type, where this term is known on the western edge of today’s border of the Slovak and Hungarian speech territories, while the word is unattested in Slovak itself. In the Carpathian basin, the Proto-Slavic sequence **ktŕ*, which behaves as the sequence **tj* in that it yields *št* only in Bulgarian, also points to a Bulgarian-type dialect, e.g., PSi **pektŕ* > OBg *peštŕ* > Hu *pest* ‘oven, cave’, as well as the toponym *Pest*. Judging by toponyms such as *Pest pataka* (a brook flowing out from a cave), *Kőpest*, *Pes(t)kő* (hills with caves), this dialect was spoken not only in the southeastern region of the Hungarian territory (in Transylvania) but also in the central region in the swathe of land from the present-day capital, Budapest, to the city of Miskolc on both sides of the modern Hungarian–Slovak state border (Kniezsa 1963: 28–32; Dénes 2009).

Many early Slavic borrowings in Hungarian are easily recognizable to the present day: e.g., *bab* ‘bean’ < **bobŕ*, *bába* ‘midwife’ < **baba*, *dajka* ‘nanny’ < **dojŕka* ‘wetnurse’, *déd* ‘grandfather’ < **dědŕ*, *ikra* ‘roe; calf of the leg’ < **jŕkra*, *mák* ‘poppy(seed)’ < **makŕ*, *patak* ‘brook’ < **potokŕ*, *rák* ‘crawfish, crab’ < **rakŕ*, *széna* ‘hay’ < **sěno*, *szita* ‘sieve’ < **sito*. (Despite the preservation of phonetic similarity, however, the semantic divergences can be significant, cf., e.g., *izgága* ‘obstinate, arrogant’ < **jŕzgaga* ‘dyspepsia’.) Many early Slavic borrowings, however, have undergone various sound changes in their adaptation. Thus, in early borrowings, there was

usually no possibility of consonant clusters. Slavic consonant clusters in word-initial position were changed by the addition of a vowel at the beginning of the word, e.g., *asztal* ‘table’ < **stolъ*, *eszterha* ‘roof’ < **strěxa*, *udvar* ‘courtyard’ < **dvorъ*) or by the insertion of a vowel word-internally (*barát* ‘friar; friend’ < **bratъ*, *gerenda* ‘log’ < **gręda*, *giliszta* ‘worm’ < **glista*, *korong* ‘circle’ < **krōgъ*, *kovász* ‘yeast’ < **kvasъ*; however, cf. standard Hu *drága* ‘road’ < **draga/drago* along with the dialect forms *darága* / *derága* or the Slavic consonant clusters that simplified in Hungarian: *csuka* ‘pike’ < **ščuka*, *hála* ‘gratitude’ < **xvala*, *kár* ‘harm, injury; regret, pity’ < **kvarъ*, *szent* ‘saint’ < **svętъ*). In Hungarian there was a tendency toward elision of the second vowel in an open medial syllable of a trisyllabic or longer word: e.g., *gazda* ‘master’ < **gospoda*, *málna* ‘raspberry’ < **malina*, *molnár* ‘miller’ < **mъlynarъ*, *párna* ‘pillow’ < **perina*, *utca* ‘street’ < *ucca* < **ulica*, *szolga* ‘servant’ < *szulga* < *szuluga* < **sluga*. Early borrowings were also subject to vowel harmony: e.g., *ebéd* ‘midday meal’ < **obędъ*, *vacsora* ‘evening meal’ < **večerja* (however, *vecsernye* ‘vespers’ < **večernja*), *család* ‘family’ and *cseléd* ‘servant’ < **čeljady*. The trigger for the vowel harmony in most cases was the quality of the stressed syllable in the borrowed Slavic word (Helinski 1992). In some words, several changes could have occurred simultaneously and in the process become unrecognizable: *szemérem* ‘shyness’ < **sramъnъ*, *zarándok* ‘pilgrim’ < **stranъnikъ*, *zsoltosma* ‘prayer book’ < **služъba*, *László* (male name) < **Vladislavъ*. Slavic *y* (IPA: *i*), despite vowel harmony, is reflected as Hungarian *i*: *vidra* ‘otter’ < **vydra*, *vizsgál* ‘verify’ < **vyžigati* ‘to light, to test by igniting’ (cf. En *to test*; Králik 2014), but a trace of the backness of the erstwhile *i* < *y* may be detected in the affixation: *szid* ‘to berate’ : *szidok* ‘I berate’ (< **styd-*, cf. Uk *stydaty*, Ru *stydit*), rather than **szidek*, as in native Hu *visz* ‘carry’ : *viszek* ‘I carry’. Since the merger of *y* > *i* took place in all of the Slavic languages surrounding the Carpathian basin, albeit at different times, ranging from the 9th to the 15th centuries (Shevelov 1964: 585), the same root **styd-* could have entered Hungarian from a dialect in which that process had already been completed: *szégyen* (dial. *szígyen*) ‘shame’ < **stidъnъ* < **stydъnъ* (Szemerényi 1982: 399–400). The Slavic *jers* (**ъ*, **ь*) in early borrowings are reflected as short *u* and *i*: *bodza* ‘elder, bot. Sambucus nigra’ < **bъzъje*, *bolha* ‘flea’ < **blъxa*, *pisztráng* ‘trout’ < **pъstroгъ*, *tiszt* ‘officer; duty’ < *čъstъ* ‘honor’ (Décsy 1958). The weak *jers* at the end of the word are not reflected in Hungarian, as short auslaut *u*, *i* were eliminated through reduction in Hungarian at about the same time as in Slavic (11th–12th cc.; Bárczi 1953: 15–18); the loss of final vowels affected not only Slavic *jers* but also other vowels: *oláh* ‘Romanian’ < **vlaxъ*, *olasz* ‘Italian’ < **vlasi* (PL). Early Slavic borrowings may also show the preservation of otherwise weak *jers*: *molnár* ‘miller’ < **mъlynarъ*, *pisztráng* ‘trout’ < **pъstroгъ*. Slavic *jat* (ě) in Hungarian is normally reflected as a regular long *é* (IPA: [e:]): *beszéd* ‘speech’ < **besęda*, *déd* ‘grandfather’ < **dędъ*, *dézsza* ‘tub’ < **dęža*, *ebéd* ‘midday meal’ < **obędъ*, *néma* ‘mute’ < **nęmъ*, *német* ‘German’ < **nęmъcъ*, *répa* ‘turnip’ < **rępa*, *széna* ‘hay’ < **sęno*, *szomszéd* ‘neighbor’ < **sęsędъ*, *tészta* ‘dough’ < **tęsto*, *véka* ‘basket’ < **vęko*; sometimes it is reflected as *i*: *ritka* ‘rare’ < **rędъkъ*, *vitrola* ‘sail’ < **vętrilo* < **vętridlo*. At the time of the arrival of the Hungarians to the Carpathian basin, the nasal vowels *ę*, *ǫ* were still preserved as such in all of the Slavic dialects, and they are reflected this way in a number of early Slavic borrowings: *gerenda* ‘log’ < **gręda*, *lengyel* (< *lengyen*) ‘Pole’ < **lędjan(e)*, *lencse* ‘lentil’ < **lęča* < **lętja*, *péntek* ‘Friday’ < **pętъkъ*, *rend* ‘order’ < **rędъ*, *szent* ‘holy, saint’ < **svętъ*, *szerencse* ‘happiness’ < **sęręča* < **sęrętja*, *bolond* ‘crazy’ < **blōdъ* ‘mistake’, *donga* ‘clapboard’ <

**doga*, *dorong* ‘pike’ < *drogъ*, *galamb* ‘pigeon’ < *golъbъ*, *gomba* ‘mushroom’ < **gъba*, *konkoly* ‘corncockle’ < **kъkolъ*, *konc* ‘piece of meat’ < *kъsz*, *korong* ‘circle’ < **kъrogъ*, *lanka* ‘slope’ < **lъka*, *munka* ‘work, effort’ < **mъka* ‘torment’, *abroncs* ‘hoop’ < **obrъčъ*, *pisztráng* ‘trout’ < **pъstroгъ*, *szombat* ‘Saturday’ < **sъbota*, *szomszéd* ‘neighbor’ < **sъsědъ*, *tompa* ‘dull’ < **topa/topa*. It is usually considered that the Slavic borrowings with nasal vowels had to have entered Hungarian before the late 10th century; however, if they came from Bulgarian-type dialects, then they could have entered later, even as late as the 11th–12th centuries. Consequently, doublets of the type *mészáros* ~ *menszáros* ‘butcher’ < **męsarъ*, *pók* ~ *ponk* ‘spider’ < **paokъ* need not be associated with different chronological layers, as they could have been borrowed concurrently (for example, in the 11th c.), but from different dialects – Pannonian Slavic or a Slavic dialect of Bulgarian type, respectively. Early borrowings from Slavic (as well as from German, Latin, and Romance languages) played a central role in the rise of new Hungarian phonemes *c* (Sl *c*, IPA: [ts]), *zs* (Sl *ž*, IPA: [ʒ]) and *ly* (Sl *l*, IPA: [ɫ]). In the earliest stage of Slavic–Hungarian contact, Hungarian had not yet developed a phoneme [ts], so Slavic *c* was substituted by Hungarian *t*, e.g., *német* ‘German’ < **němъcъ*, *marót* ‘Moravian’ < **moravъcъ*, or *cs*, e.g., *császár* ‘emperor’ < **cěsarъ*. It was not until the early 11th century that forms with *c* [ts] are attested: *Kesztölc* (toponym) < *ca(s)telic*, *kaztelic* < **Kostelъcъ*, *acél* ‘steel’ < **ocělъ*, *gerlice* ‘turtledove’ < **gъrdlica*, *malac* ‘piglet’ < **mladъcъ* < **moldъcъ*. Slavic *ž* in the first era was substituted by Hungarian *s* [ʃ]: *Kenese* (toponym) < **kъnežъ*, but somewhat later; not least thanks to Slavic borrowings, there developed a Hungarian phoneme [ʒ]: *Kanizsa* (toponym) < **kъnežъ*, *rozsa* ‘rust’ < *rъžъ* < **rъdja*, *uzsonna* ‘afternoon snack’ < **užinъ*, *zsír* ‘fat, lard’ < **žirъ*. The phoneme [ɫ] may have arisen in Hungarian itself as a result of the palatalization of [l], cf. *nyoszolya* ‘bed, stretcher’ < **nosilo* < **nosidlo*, but earlier this phoneme occurred only in word-internal position, while its occurrence in word-final position was brought about most likely by Slavic borrowings like *király* ‘king’ < **kralъ* < *Karl*, *konkoly* ‘corncockle’ < **kъkolъ*, *moly* ‘moth’ < **molъ* (in due course, the standard pronunciation changed, [ɫ] > [j]: *király* [ˈkɪrɒj], *konkoly* [ˈkɒŋkɒj], *moly* [ˈmoj]).

In addition to borrowings, there were also loan translations from Slavic into Hungarian: *kedd* ‘Tuesday’ < *keted* ‘second’ (cf. Hu *két* ~ *kettő* ‘two’) < **vъtorъnikъ*/**vъtorъkъ* ‘Tuesday, second day of the week’ (alongside straight borrowings such as *szerda* / *szereda* ‘Wednesday’ < **srěda* < **serda* ‘middle [of the week]’, *csütörtök* ‘Thursday’ < **četvъrtъkъ* ‘the fourth day of the week’, *péntek* ‘Friday’ < **pętъkъ* ‘fifth day of the week’, *szombat* ‘Saturday’ < **sъbota* < MGr **σάμβατον*), *tizenegy* ‘11, lit. one on ten’ < **jedinъ na desęte*; the Slavic model in Hungarian has been extended to the numbers 21–29: *huszonegy* ‘21, lit. one on twenty’, etc. Semantic calques include *világ*, originally only ‘light’, but now also ‘world’ < **světъ* ‘light; world’ (Kiss 1976; Zoltán and Janurik 2018). Hungarian also continued numerous Slavic toponyms: *Pest* < **peštъ* ‘oven, cave’, *Balaton* < **blatъnъ* ‘muddy’, *Visegrád* < **vyšegradъ* ‘city built on heights’ (cf. also *Vyšehrad* in Prague, *Višhorod* on the upper bank of the Dnieper near Kyiv), *Csongrád* < **čъrnъ gradъ* ‘black city’, *Nógrád* < **novъ gradъ* ‘new city’, and many others. Pre-Slavic names of major rivers were taken into Hungarian through Slavic mediation: *Duna* ‘Danube’ < **Dunajъ*, *Tisza* < **Tisa*, *Dráva* < **Drava*, *Száva* < **Sava*, *Mura* < **Mura*, *Rába* < **Rába* (Kiss 1997). In the circumstances of Slavic–Hungarian bilingualism, there arose also tautological Slavic–Hungarian toponyms of the

type *Ácsteszer* (Hu *ács* ‘carpenter’ + Sl **tesarъ* ‘idem’), *Kálsár* (Sl **kalъ* ‘filth, mud’ + Hu *sár* ‘idem’), *Lippahárs* (Sl **lipa* ‘linden’ + Hu *hárs* ‘idem’; Kiss 1979).

In addition to borrowed words, Hungarian also acquired word-formational suffixes, which in due course became productive in combination with roots of non-Slavic origin. The suffixes *-ár* /*-ér*, abstracted from Slavic nouns with the suffix **-arъ* (*bodnár* ‘cooper’ < **bъdnarъ*, *gerencsér* ‘potter’ < **gъrnъčarъ*), started to combine with native Hungarian roots, e.g., *futár* ‘courier’ from *fut* ‘run’, *tanár* ‘teacher’ from *tanít* ‘teach’, *pincér* ‘waiter’ from *pince* ‘cellar’ (< **pivъnica*; on the model of Ge Keller : Kellner), *vezér* ‘leader’ (from *vezet* ‘to lead’); the suffix *-nok* /*-nök*, taken from the names of court dignitaries with the suffix **-ъnikъ* of the type *asztalnok* ‘table attendant’ < **stolъnikъ*, *udvarnok* ‘courtier’ < **dvorъnikъ*, then gave rise, especially in the era of the language reform of the 18th–19th centuries, to a series of derivatives from non-Slavic bases: *hivatalnok* ‘functionary’ from *hivatal* ‘institution’, *írnok* ‘writer’ from *ír* ‘to write’, *hírnök* ‘herald, gazette’ from *hír* ‘news’, *mérnök* ‘engineer’ from *mér* ‘to measure’ (< **měriti*).

There has been a degree of Slavic influence on Hungarian grammar as well. For example, the verb *fog* ‘take’ in the function of an auxiliary verb forming the future tense of the type *menni fog* ‘will go’ has a parallel in contemporary Ukrainian: *itymet’* ‘will go’ < *ityjmet’*, where *jmet’* is the person-marking form of the verb *jaty* ‘to take’, but earlier similar forms of the future with continuations of the verb **jęti* ‘to take’ are attested in all the East Slavic languages as well as in some South Slavic ones (Old Serbian, Old Bulgarian), which makes it possible that the construction was also extant in the language of the Pannonian Slavs (Zoltán 2018).

Along with substratal lexicon as a result of political, religious, commercial, and other areas of interchange, and aside from the basic bulk of Slavic lexicon borrowed from the language of urban Slavs, Hungarian also acquired some borrowings from neighboring Slavic languages: e.g., titles such as *bán* ‘ban, a Croatian ruler’ (< Cr *ban*) and *vajda* ‘voevoda, military leader, initially: the ruler of Transylvania’ < **vojevoda* (most likely from Bulgarian); Christian terms connected with the Byzantine mission of the 10th century: *karácsony* ‘Christmas’ (< SSL **kračunъ* < OAL *karcun-* ‘tree stump (burned for the pagan celebration of the winter solstice)’, *pítvar* ‘canopy, atrium’ (< SSL *prítvorъ* ‘narthex’), the phrase *hálát ad* ‘to give thanks’ (only in a religious sense), where *hálát* is the singular accusative form of *hála* ‘thanks’ (< SSL **xvala*) and Hu *ad* is ‘to give’, while the entire phrase calques OCS *xvalq vъzda(ja)ti* ‘to give thanks’ (Zoltán 2015). In the 11th century, as a result of Polish–Hungarian dynastic contacts, the borrowed name *László* (< Po *Władysław* < Cz *Vladislav*) gained particular popularity.

With the *jer* shift in Slavic (12th c.) as the last Common Slavic innovation, the era of a common language came to a close (Troubetzkoy 1922: 217–218). Subsequently in the history of Slavic–Hungarian contact, Slavic elements entered Hungarian no longer from Late Common Slavic dialects but from specific Slavic languages: *pogácsa* ‘a variety of baked cake’ (15th c.) < BCMS *pògača* ‘pita bread’, Sn *pogáča* ‘idem’, (el)*kótyavetyél* ‘to barter’ (16th c.) < BCMS *ko oće veće* [*dati*], ‘lit. who wants more [paying for a good offered]’, *kukac* ‘worm’ (18th c.) < BCMS *kúkac* ‘bug, beetle’, *paprika* ‘red pepper’ (18 c.) < BCMS *pàprika*, *kerecsen* / *kerecset* ‘falcon, Falco

rusticolus' (13th c.) < Ru *krečet*, *émelyeg* 'to be nauseated' (16th c.), *émely* 'nausea' (18th c.) < Ru *xmel* 'hops, bot. Humulus lupulus; drunkenness' (cf. also Fi *humala* 'hops, bot. Humulus lupulus' : *humalainen* 'drunk[ard]'; see Zoltán 1979), *csinovnyik* 'bureaucrat' (19th c.) < Ru *činovnik*, *pogrom* 'pogrom' (from the early 20th c.) < Ru *pogrom*, *kulák* 'prosperous peasant' (early 20th c.) < Ru *kulak*, *harisnya* 'socks' (15th c.) < Uk *xološni* 'winter pants of white cloth worn by peasants', *poszáta* 'canary, Sylvia' (16th c.) < Sk *psota* 'poverty', *petrence* 'heap, stack' (17th c.) < Sk *petrenec*, *pesztonka* 'nanny' (18th c.) < Sk *pestunka*.

The Ottoman expansion brought the migration of Serbs and Croats to Hungary and, after the reconquest, a systematic settlement in deserted central and southern regions of the country of outcasts from various Habsburg provinces, including Slovaks and Rusyns from northern Hungary. In this manner, significant Slovak towns arose on the Hungarian plain (Békéscsaba, Nyíregyháza, Szarvas, Kiskörös) and Rusyn settlements in the Bačka region (Ruski Krstur, Kocura: today's Vojvodina in Serbia). In this way, intensive Slavic–Hungarian linguistic contacts took place in modern times not only in the borderlands but also in the interior of the Hungarian territory. In conjunction with the change of the national borders in the 20th century, the most intensive Slavic influence on Hungarian is observed in the neighboring countries of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, as well as, after 1944, in the Soviet Union, and today in Slovakia, Ukraine (Transcarpathia), and in the post-Yugoslav republics (see Göncz 1999; Csernicskó 1998; Kontra 2012; 2016; Lanstyák 2000). After World War II, as a result of population exchanges between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, a significant part of the Slovak population of Hungary migrated to southern Slovakia in place of displaced Hungarians. In this way, the Slavic minority in Hungary shrank, which led to the increased assimilatory process on both sides of the Czechoslovak border. The influence of Russian during the Soviet occupation, regardless of the compulsory nature of instruction in Russian in all schools, left few traces in standard Hungarian lexicon aside from some political and technical Soviet terms such as *szovjet*, *kulák*, and *szputnyik*, which in due course became markers of the particular historical period (Zoltán 1993). A different matter, however, is the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine, which in 1944 became a part of the Soviet Union and experienced – and continues to experience – strong influences from both Russian and Ukrainian (Kótyuk 2007; Gazdag 2017).

In general, the Slavic influence on standard Hungarian is considerable, just as it is on regional variants of Hungarian, and Slavic borrowings abound in all spheres of life. Especially noteworthy is the presence of Slavic borrowings in thematic groups such as the following:

- **law and state:** *király* 'king' < **kralъ* < *Karl*, *tiszt* 'officer; duty' < *čъstъ* 'honor', *poroszló* 'bailiff' < **pristavъ*, *tömlőc* 'prison' < **тъмъnica*, *paraszt* 'peasant' < **prostъ*, *rab* 'slave, prisoner' < **robъ* < **orbъ*, *szolga* 'servant' < **sluga*, *szabad* 'free' < **svobodъ*, *pénz* 'money' < **penę(d)ъ*, *perel* 'to sue' < **prъrěti*, *panaszol* 'to complain' < **ponositi*, *parancsol* 'to order' < **porъčiti*;
- **agriculture:** *rozs* 'rye' < **rъžъ*, *zab* 'barley' < **zobъ*, *gabona* 'cereals' < **gobino*, *kalász* 'ear of grain' < **klasъ* < **kolsъ*, *korpa* 'bran' < **krupa*, *konkoly* 'corncockle, weed' < **kъkolъ*, *barázda* 'furrow' < **brazda* < **borzda*, *kapál* 'to build mounds' < **kopati*, *kasza* 'scythe' < **kosa*, *szalma* 'straw' < **slama* < **solma*, *len* 'flax' < **lъnъ*, *bab* 'bean' < **bobъ*, *lencse* 'lentil' < **lęča* < **lętja*, *széna* 'hay' < **sěno*, *járom* 'yoke' < **jarъmъ*, *iga* 'yoke' < **jъgo*, *patkó* 'horseshoe' < **podъkovъ* / **podъkova*, *bárány* 'lamb' < **baranъ*, *jérce* 'chick, young chicken' < **jarica*;
- **crafts:** *bodnár* 'cooper' < **bъdъnarъ*, *bödön* 'barrel, tup' < **bъdъnъ*, *vödör* 'bucket' < **vędro*, *donga* 'clapboard' < **dъga*, *abroncs* 'hoop' < **obrъčъ*, *takács* 'weaver' < **tъkačъ*, *esztergályos* 'turner' < **strugarъ*, *mészáros* 'butcher' < **męsarъ*, *kovács* 'blacksmith' < **kovačъ*, *gerencsér* / *gölöncsér* 'potter' < **gъrnъčarъ*;
- **fishing, hunting:** *mocsár* 'swamp' < **močarъ*, *patak* 'brook' < **potokъ*, *iszap* 'clay, mud' < **jъzsъpъ*, *gát* 'dam, weir' < **gatъ*, *zsilip* 'sluice' < **žlębъ* < **želbъ*, *csónak* 'boat' < **čъlnъkъ*, *számszerj* 'crossbow' < **samostrělъ*;
- **Christianity:** *kereszt* 'cross' < **krъstъ*, *keresztény* / *keresztény* 'Christian' < **krъstijanъ*, *keresztel* 'to baptize' < **krъstiti*, *szent* 'holy, saint' < **svętъ*, *malaszt* 'mercy' < **milostъ*, *pap* 'priest' < **popъ*, *parázna* 'adulterer' < **prazdъnъ* < **porzđъnъ*, *zarándok* 'pilgrim' < **stranъnikъ*, *zsoltos* 'prayer book' < **služъba*;
- **family:** *család* 'family' and *cseléd* 'servant' < **čęljadъ*, *déd* 'grandfather' < **dędъ*, *unoka* 'grandson' < **vnъukъ*, *dajka* 'nanny' < **dojъka*, *mostoha* 'stepmother' < **maštъxa* < **matjъxa*, *koma* 'godfather' < **kumъ*;
- **domestic life:** *eszterha* 'roof' < **stręxa*, *gerenda* 'log' < **gręda*, *pince* 'cellar' < **pivъnica*, *udvar* 'courtyard' < **dvorъ*, *asztal* 'table' < **stolъ*, *lóca* 'bench' < **lavica*, *polc* 'shelf' < **polica*, *párna* 'pillow' < **perina*, *abrosz* 'tablecloth' < **obrusъ*, *zár* 'lock' < **zavorъ*, *kulcs* 'key' < **ključъ*, *katlan* 'cauldron' < **kotlovina*, *csésze* 'goblet' < **čaša*, *ebéd* 'midday meal' < **obędъ*, *uzsonna* 'afternoon meal' < **užinъ*, *vacsora* 'dinner' < **večъerja*, *pecsenye* 'roast' < **pečъenja*, *káposzta* 'cabbage' < **kapusta*, *tészta* 'dough' < **tęsto*, *kovász* 'yeast' < **kvasъ*, *szalonna* 'bacon' < **slanina* < **solnina*, *kolbász* 'sausage' < **kълbasa*;
- **plants:** *cser* 'Turkey oak, bot. *Quercus cerris*' < **cerъ*, *bodza* 'elder, bot. *Sambucus nigra*' < **bъzъje*, *málna* 'raspberry' < **malina*, *gomba* 'mushroom' < **gъba*, *moha* 'moss' < **mъxъ*, *szilva* 'plum' < **sliva*, *cseresznye* 'cherry' < **čręšnja* < **čęršъna*;
- **animals:** *medve* 'bear' < **medvędъ*, *galamb* 'pigeon' < **golъbъ*, *gerlice* 'turtledove'

< **gǫrdlica*, *szarka* ‘magpie’ < **sraka* < **sorka*, *veréb* ‘sparrow’ < **vrabijъ* < **vorbijъ*, *bolha* ‘flea’ < **blъxa*, *giliszta* ‘worm’ < **glista*, *pióca* ‘leech’ < **pijavica*, *csuka* ‘pike’ < **ščuka*, *pisztráng* ‘trout’ < **pъstroгъ*, *rák* ‘crayfish, crab’ < **rakъ*, *vidra* ‘otter’ < **vydra* (Bárczi 1958: 94–95; Kniezsa 1955: s.v.).

Hungarian in Slavic

The Hungarian language has primarily influenced Slavic dialects directly bordering with the Hungarian speech territory and/or having developed over the centuries within the context of the Hungarian Kingdom (Prekmurje Slovene, Croatian in western Hungary) and from 1920 also eastern Austrian (Burgenland Croatian, whence *gradišćanskohrvatski*), Slovak, and Transcarpathian Rusyn. In these languages, the borrowings are not limited to administrative or social terminology, but are represented widely in various spheres of everyday and abstract lexicon, e.g., Prekmurje Slovene words like *bèteg* ‘illness’ < Hu *beteg* ‘ill’, *jèzero* ‘thousand’ < Hu *ezer*, *sabó* ‘taylor’ < Hu *szabó*, *sálaš* ‘lodge’ < Hu *szállás*, *šòr* ‘beer’ < Hu *sör*, *vadliivàti* ‘to confess’ < Hu *vall* (< *vadl-*), *váma* ‘customs duty’ < Hu *vám*, *vámoš* ‘customs officer’ < Hu *vámos*, *vár* ‘fortress’ < Hu *vár*, *váraš* ‘city’ < Hu *város* (Novak 2006: s.v.); Uk dial. *bantuváty* ‘to touch’ < Hu *bánt*, *banuváty* ‘regret’ < Hu *bán*, *betéha* ‘illness’ < Hu *beteg* ‘ill’, *bizuváty* ‘vouch for’ < Hu *bízik* ‘to hope’, *vagáš* ‘roadway to a highland pasture, a cleared forest’ < Hu *vágás* ‘clearcut’ from *vág* ‘to chop, cut’, *vároš* ‘city’ < Hu *város*, *hazda* ‘master’ < Hu *gazda*, *órsák* ‘country; road, highway’ < Hu *ország(út)* (*országút* ‘highway’ – a compound of *ország* ‘country, state’ + *út* ‘road’), *xosén* ‘worth, value’ < Hu *haszon*, *čapáš* ‘path’ < Hu *csapás* from *csap* ‘to beat’ (Lizanec 1976; Baran’ 2013; Mel’nyčuk 1982–2012: s.v.). The majority of these words were borrowed also into Slovak: *banovat’*, *bantovat’*, *be’ah*, *bizovat’* (*sa*), *čapáš*, *gazda*, *choseň* / *chosen*, *orság*, *vágáš*, *vároš* (Rocchi 1999–2010; Králik 2015: s.v.). Quite a few of them entered BCMS, primarily the Kajkavian dialect: *bantovati* / *bantuvati*, *beteg*, *gazda*, *hasan* / *hasen* / (*h*)*asna*, *orsag* / *ursag* / *rusag*, *vagaš*, *varoš* / *varaš* (Hadrovics 1985: s.v.). In the Slavic languages not directly bordering on the Hungarian language territory, such as Bulgarian, the number of borrowings is considerably fewer, e.g., *varoš* ‘town center’, *gazda* ‘master; the head of a group of gardeners working abroad’ (Décsy 1959; Georgiev 1971–: s.v.). As a result of close Hungarian–Polish political, military, and commercial contacts, the number of borrowings from Hungarian is somewhat big. Among them are also regionalisms (as in the language of the Polish highlanders of south Poland, e.g., *gazda*, *juhas* ‘shepherd’ < Hu *juhász* ‘idem’ from *juh* ‘sheep’), but there are also everyday words in standard Polish such as *antalek* ‘a type of barrel’ < Hu *antalag*, *kapcie* ‘house shoes, slippers’ < Hu *kapca* ‘puttees’, *szataś* / *szataśz* ‘hut’ < Hu *szállás* ‘lodge’ from (*meg*)*száll* ‘to occupy’, *szereg* ‘row’, as well as historical relics: *giermek* ‘pageboy’ < Hu *gyermek* ‘child’, *hajduk* ‘brigand, mercenary soldier, male servant’ < Hu *hajdú*, *husarz* ‘hussar, cavalryman’ < Hu *huszár*, *karwasz* ‘forearm guards, vambrace’ < Hu *karvas* (< *kar* ‘hand’ + *vas* ‘iron’), *kontusz* ‘robe’ < Hu *köntös* (Wołosz 1989–1992). Some of these words in the context of the Polish-Lithuanian state penetrated into Old Belarusian: *kgermekъ*, *haydukъ*, *husarъ*, *antelokgъ*, *kapti*, *šerenhъ*, the latter of which is preserved in contemporary standard Belarusian – *šèrah* (Zoltán 2005). Some Hungarian words have, through Polish and/or Belarusian mediation, entered Lithuanian:

germkas, *karvāšas* / *karvāšis* ‘cuff’, *eidūkas* / *haidūkas*, *husāras*, *kuñtušas*, *šerengà* / *šarangà* (Laczházi 2003; 2019–2020). Some of them have entered Russian through Belarusian or/and Ukrainian (e.g., *antal*, *gajduk*, *gusar*, *šalaš*, *šerenga*), in which some “culinary Hungarianisms” have also taken hold: *tokaj* ‘a variety of wine from the Tokay region’ < Hu *Tokaj* (toponym), *guljaš* ‘goulash’ < Hu *gulyás*, *lečo* ‘a vegetable stew’ < Hu *lecsó* (Hollós 1996).

Abbreviations used in this article:

arch.: archaic

bot.: botanical

PannSl: Pannonian Slavic

Translation from Russian: Marc L. Greenberg

András Zoltán

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